

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

DDI- 02046-86  
25 JUL 1986

The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski

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Dear Dr. Brzezinski:

The Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis of the Directorate of Intelligence, CIA, is sponsoring a conference on the "Political and Economic Implications of the Iran-Iraq War" at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., on Monday, 29 September 1986. The conference will be unclassified, off the record, and by invitation only, and we expect about 60 attendees from within and outside the government. The conference will consist of four panels that will address different aspects of the war (see enclosed agenda and tentative schedule).

We believe the conference will provide an excellent opportunity to exchange ideas informally about the war, and we would like to invite you to be the luncheon speaker. Ideally, we would like you to address prospects for increased US and Soviet competition for political and economic influence in the Persian Gulf region over the next decade.

Your experience and insights on this important intelligence topic would help make the conference a success.

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Sincerely,

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Richard J. Kerr  
Deputy Director for Intelligence

## Enclosures:

- A. Agenda
- B. Tentative Schedule

The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski

DDI/NESA/PG  (25Ju186)

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A.

### **Proposed Agenda**

#### **Conference on the Political and Economic Implications of the Iran-Iraq War**

#### **Topics**

- 1) On which combatant is the war taking a greater toll; which is capable of sustaining hostilities for a longer period?**
  - a) State of the combatants' economies and capacity to sustain the war.
  - b) Internal political pressures generated by the war; ability of the respective regimes to maintain present leadership and control; likely makeup of new leadership if one emerges.
  - c) Is a negotiated settlement or outright victory possible and what would be necessary to achieve either outcome?
- 2. How does the Iran-Iraq war affect the GCC states generally, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in particular?**
  - a) Effectiveness of internal political and security policies in coping with war related stresses.
  - b) What are the risks of stronger Iranian actions against GCC states, i.e. an expansion of the war? Likely reaction of the GCC states individually and collectively.
  - c) The most likely GCC scenarios should Iran appear to be winning (or win) the war, should Iraq or Iran change leaders, or should a negotiated settlement be arranged.
- 3. How does the Iran-Iraq war affect regional alignments and Middle East politics?**
  - a) Arab alignments in the war and resultant tensions. What are the chances of an arrangement between Syria and Iraq and its likely consequences if one is achieved?
  - b) Would a negotiated settlement or a victory by either party have significant positive or negative impact on the prospects for Arab-Israeli negotiations?
  - c) How does the war influence the regional policies of important actors like Israel, Egypt, Jordan, and Turkey?
- 4. What are the implications of the Iran-Iraq war, with its various major possible scenarios, for US interests and policies in the region?**
  - a) The effectiveness of US policy vis-a-vis the war and the Gulf. How has the war influenced US policies, or reactions, toward the Gulf and the rest of the region?

- b) How are US and Soviet policies in the Gulf and the region affected by the war? What are the most likely responses to leadership changes in Iran and Iraq, or to the defeat of either?**
- c) What economic imperatives are likely to prevail in the Gulf that will affect US interests over the next few years.**
- d) What can and ought the US do over the next 24 months to promote and insure its economic and political interests in the Gulf?**

B.

**Political and Economic Implications of the Iran-Iraq War  
(tentative schedule and participants)**

Willard Hotel  
Washington D.C.  
29 September 1986

|                      |  |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|
| <b>8:45</b>          | <b>Opening Remarks</b><br><div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 15px; width: 250px; margin-top: 5px;"></div>  | <b>STAT</b> |
| <b>9:00 - 10:30</b>  | <b>Assessing the War's Impact on the Combatants</b><br><br>Phoebe Marr, National Defense Institute<br>Shaul Bakkash, George Mason University<br>Robert Pelletreau, Dep Asst Secretary of Defense, ISA  |             |
| <b>10:30 - 10:45</b> | <b>Coffee Break</b>  |             |
| <b>10:45 - 12:15</b> | <b>The War's Toll on the GCC States</b><br><br>James Placke, former Dep Asst Secretary of State<br>Thomas McNaur, private consultant<br><div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 15px; width: 180px; margin-top: 5px;"></div>  | <b>STAT</b> |
| <b>12:30 - 2:00</b>  | <b>Luncheon</b><br>Guest Speaker   |             |
| <b>2:00 - 3:30</b>   | <b>Influence of the War on Political Alignments<br/>in the Middle East</b><br><br>Herman Eilts, former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia<br>and Egypt<br>Christine Helms, Brookings Institution<br>Richard Murphy, Asst Secretary of State  |             |
| <b>3:30 - 3:45</b>   | <b>Coffee Break</b>  |             |
| <b>3:45 - 5:30</b>   | <b>Implications for US Interests</b><br><br>Richard Helms, former Director of Central<br>Intelligence<br>David Rockefeller, former Chairman, Chase Manhattan<br><div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 25px; width: 330px; margin-top: 5px;"></div><br>Oil Company Executive | <b>STAT</b> |

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24 July 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: *But* Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM:

Chief, Persian Gulf Division, NESA

SUBJECT: Luncheon Speaker for Persian Gulf Conference

1. The Persian Gulf Division, NESA, will host a conference on the "Political and Economic Implications of the Iran-Iraq War" at the Willard Hotel, Washington, DC, on Monday, 29 September 1986. Current and former US government officials and nongovernmental experts have agreed to participate in the conference, which will be unclassified, off the record, and by invitation only (tentative schedule and agenda attached). We are expecting about 60 attendees.

2. We would like to request your assistance in inviting Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski to be the luncheon speaker. Dr. Brzezinski would lend a unique and informed perspective to this important intelligence topic, and we would like him to give a short presentation on "US and Soviet Interests in the Persian Gulf Region Over the Next Decade." If Dr. Brzezinski accepts, we would provide him further details on the conference agenda, schedule, and participants.

## Attachments:

- A. Tentative Schedule
- B. Agenda

*Give me a letter of invitation signed by Kern. I will cover it with a note of my own. Mention in memorandum.*



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